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CHRISTMAS, 1918

*And there were shepherds in the same country
abiding in the field, and keeping watch by night
over their flock. And an angel of the Lord
stood by them, and the glory of the Lord shone
round about them; and they were sore afraid.*

*And the angel said unto them, Be not afraid;
for behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy
which shall be to all the people: for there is born
to you this day in the city of David a Saviour,
who is Christ the Lord. And this is the sign
unto you: Ye shall find a babe wrapped in swad-
dling clothes, and lying in a manger. And sud-
denly there was with the angel a multitude of
the heavenly host praising God, and saying,*

*Glory to God in the highest,
And on earth peace among men.*

NOVEMBER 11, 1918

VICTORY, peace, — both complete. Victory of the greater physical force over the lesser, and, as is not always the case, of the right over the wrong. The most terrifying of conspiracies against the health of the world has failed. The worshipers of brute force have been consumed in the flames of their own kindling. Hereditary-right-to-rule Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, with all their morbidity and arrogance, have fallen before the collective scorn and outraged will of plain peoples interrupted and threatened in their climb toward freedom and liberty as they conceive them. Germany's dream of a prostrate France, of the control of the seas, of a world empire, is over. The terms of the armistice are severe; but they are to be carried out, are being carried out, strictly according to program.

The steps to the finish proceeded at the last by unprecedented leaps and bounds. October 8, the German Kaiser addressed the soldiers of Alsace saying, "We shall defend with the last drop of our blood these provinces which belong to us and which the Almighty has entrusted us to administer as his steward. We are under Divine protection." Within a month this colossally vain representative of autocracy was packing his trunks for flight into Holland. The man who on August 30, 1914, commanded his troops in Belgium

that they "Take Paris or die", who in October 1916, looked upon himself as the one outstanding personage capable of freeing the world, who in August, 1915, felt his heart filled with gratitude that God was with him

ABRAHAM LINCOLN WALKS AT MIDNIGHT

(In Springfield, Illinois)

By VACHEL LINDSAY

It is portentous, and a thing of state
That here at midnight, in our little town
A mourning figure walks, and will not rest,
Near the old court-house pacing up and down,

Or by his homestead, or in shadowed yards
He lingers where his children used to play,
Or through the market, on the well-worn stones
He stalks until the dawn-stars burn away.

A bronzed, lank man! His suit of ancient black,
A famous high top-hat and plain worn shawl
Make him the quaint great figure that men love,
The prairie-lawyer, master of us all.

He cannot sleep upon his hillside now.
He is among us:—as in times before!
And we who toss and lie awake for long
Breathe deep, and start, to see him pass the door.

His head is bowed. He thinks on men and kings.
Yea, when the sick world cries, how can he sleep?

Too many peasants fight, they know not why,
Too many homesteads in black terror weep.

The sins of all the war-lords burn his heart.
He sees the dreadnaughts scouring every main.
He carries on his shawl-wrapped shoulders now
The bitterness, the folly and the pain.

He cannot rest until a spirit-dawn
Shall come; — the shining hope of Europe free:

The league of sober folk, the Workers' Earth,
Bringing long peace to Cornland, Alp and Sea.

It breaks his heart that kings must murder still,
That all his hours of travail here for men
Seem yet in vain. And who will bring white peace

That he may sleep upon his hill again?

and spoke of "the people's kingdom of the Hohenzollerns", who associated himself through a quarter of a century as well-nigh co-equal with God, is now an undignified, voluntary exile and of little account even in Germany.

November 5 Secretary Lansing, speaking for the President, notified the German government that it must go to Marshal Foch for the terms of the armistice. November 11 the armistice was signed. The same day the German foreign secretary addressed a message to Mr. Lansing begging that President Wilson intervene to mitigate the "fearful conditions" existing in Germany. The Germany of Bismarck and William II is no more. "The war thus comes to an end."

If we turn, as we naturally may, to the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1 for comparison, we find that seven months passed between the diplomatic failure of M. Thiers to induce England, Austria, Russia and Italy to intervene, followed by his request to Bismarck that he agree to an armistice, and the signing of the treaty of peace. During those seven months following the Waterloo of the Second Empire at Sedan in the first days of September, 1870, matters went from bad to worse in France, as indeed they may in Germany. The Paris Revolution, the investment of that city, Strasbourg, Orleans, Soissons, Metz, William I made emperor at Versailles, the defeat of the French before Paris and the capitulation of the city, that was the order. In the meanwhile an armistice for negotiation had been declared and extended from time to time. Preliminary peace terms were signed February 26, 1871. The Paris Commune, with its terrifying losses, preceded the end. While the first proposal for an armistice was made in October, 1870, not until the 18th of the following May was the treaty of peace, concluded May 10, ratified by the French Assembly. How far that turbulent period is to be reproduced at this time remains to be seen. Some of it has been reproduced. As we refused to negotiate with an irresponsible Germany prior to the armistice, so Bismarck refused to negotiate with an unstable France. The surrender of Bulgaria, Turkey and Austria-Hungary eliminated the prolonged negotiations which marked the period prior to the armistice in those days. The overwhelming might arrayed against the Germans, especially since the surrender of their fleet and large sections of their empire, makes a prolongation and discussion such as took place then, indeed, as marked still more the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15, now improbable.

Germany is defeated, the war is over. These two sentences, though then contrary to fact, electrified the world November 7. When four days later, namely November 11, men and women were officially informed at last of the surrender, they broke into spontaneous gladness and singing around the world. No such celebration ever took place before. The joy was as real as it was exuberant. The killing was over. Fathers looked upon their sons and saw in their young eyes a

lengthening future of bright achievement. Mothers wept through their smiles that their boys now might come back to them. The consecration of those who never may return was at last complete and the pain of lovers left behind was assuaged by an infinite consolation. The war is over. We dwell upon the words. The war is over. Men, women, they who have given so much, some their all, the statesmen of the hour, the teachers, preachers, scholars, the fathers and mothers of soft young babes in arms, all who with anxious vision scan the generations yet to be, breathe the breath of infinite relief. The war is over.

Ten days after the signing of the armistice Germany surrendered fourteen ships of the line, seven light cruisers and fifty destroyers to the British, French and American fleets off the Firth of Forth and ceased, as a naval power, to exist. She is beaten and prostrated. In the language of the President of the United States, calling upon the American people to "render thanks to God, the ruler of nations."

"God has in His good pleasure given us peace. It has not come as a mere cessation of arms—a mere relief from the strain and tragedy of war. It has come as a great triumph of right. Complete victory has brought us, not peace alone, but the confident promise of a new day as well in which justice shall replace force and jealous intrigue among the nations. Our gallant armies have participated in a triumph which is not marred or stained by any purpose of selfish aggression. In a righteous cause they have won immortal glory and have nobly served their nation in serving mankind. God has indeed been gracious. We have cause for such rejoicing as revives and strengthens in us all the best traditions of our national history. A new day shines about us in which our hearts take new courage and look forward with new hope to new and greater duties.

"While we render thanks for these things let us not forget to seek the Divine guidance in the performance of those duties, and Divine mercy and forgiveness for all errors of act or purpose, and pray that in all that we do we shall strengthen the ties of friendship and mutual respect upon which we must assist to build the new structure of peace and good will among nations."

Plans for the Peace Conference at Versailles, which President Wilson will attend in person, are developing as rapidly as possible. The nations are face to face with their destinies as never before. At no time in the history of nations have they been faced with such issues and such an opportunity. The day of the world's great deliverance from war may be at hand. It is at hand if men and women of our world have the brain and heart for the task. Clemenceau is right, "We are now coming to a difficult time. It is harder to win peace than to win war." When Mazzini said that "The morrow of victory is more perilous than its eve," he told the truth. Nothing is more detested by civilized

THE SPIRIT OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AT VERSAILLES, 1918

(From the Second Inaugural, March 4, 1865)

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding.

Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses, for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offenses, which in the providence of God must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may soon pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword; as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

men than war. They want no more of it. "Never again!" says the British Premier. Never again, echo the words in every human breast. We may now look, therefore, for other and higher adventures among the nations to the end that the peace of justice may be attained. This inquiring, persistent justice knocks at the gates of the nations and will yet be heard. At this Christmas tide she lays her hands upon the hearts of men as never before, for men awaken now in the morning and close their eyes at night saying to themselves with gladsome iteration, the war is over.

AMERICA'S MESSAGE TO VERSAILLES

AMERICA has a message to the plenipotentiaries convening in Paris. That message is capable of definition, elaborately if you choose, simply if you will. That message flows from the history out of which America with its free, sovereign independent States has developed, for we must remember, and the world now needs to know, that in the latter part of the 18th century thirteen States existed on this side of the Atlantic, each with its interests, local prejudices and problems, united at first that they might wage war successfully against Great Britain but finally that they might establish justice and assure the blessings of liberty. They had come together at first for purposes of efficiency, but towards the end of the war they finally succeeded in forming a union, the chief motive for which gradually developed into little more than a mere desire that something might exist in the nature of government which England could at the close of the war recognize. Immediately following the treaty of peace in 1783, this union sank gradually into insignificance, the States returning to their individual affairs. The result was lamentable. The public debt which had been incurred in a most sacred cause aroused little interest among the States. The inefficiency of the union was the butt of European statesmen. Inability to regulate commerce between themselves, presented problems facing the nations today. There were rival, conflicting and anger-provoking regulations involving matters of right such as the transportation of goods across States to purchasers far away. Connecticut taxed imports from Massachusetts higher than those from Great Britain. Some of the States drafted separate treaties with the Indians, indeed went to war with Indians without reference to the central government. James Madison is our authority for the indictment that there were violations of contract of various kinds, some involving a depreciated paper currency, the substitution of property for money, even the closing of courts of justice. There was little uniformity of opinion and practice.

Credit decayed at home and abroad. The patched-up union gave signs of utter disintegration. There was a condition of international anarchy.

Confronted with such an international situation at the close of our Revolution there was wisdom enough in those days to solve it. Harassed by economic difficulties they set about the business of overcoming them. Virginia was denied the right to use the Potomac River by Maryland, who backed her claims by an appeal to her charter. A meeting of men was called in 1785, a meeting of representatives of Maryland and Virginia, at Alexandria. George Washington, interested in the proceedings of their convention, entertained them at Mount Vernon. As a result of the deliberations in that convention, another convention of representatives of the various States was seen to be necessary, and upon the invitation of the State of Virginia a call was sent to the other twelve States to attend a conference for their mutual advantage to be held the following year, 1786, at Annapolis. The Annapolis meeting was attended by delegates of but five of the States, but among those delegates were such giants as James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, John Dickinson. Upon their initiative it was that efforts to bring about a more representative conference were successful. By their energy and upon certain evidences of actual rebellion in Massachusetts and elsewhere, the Congress was prevailed upon to call officially for a meeting of delegates from all of the States, to a conference in Philadelphia on the second Monday of May, 1787, for the "sole" purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation. But they did much more than that. They set up for themselves a successful law-governed world.

This convention of 1787 stands out as America's distinct contribution to the world situation now before us. For the real problems facing us now faced them then. If the task seems impossible to us, it seemed impossible to them. The problem which faces us and which faced them is the problem of the establishment of a more perfect society of nations, granting powers to such a society separate from the powers of each State, at the same time providing for the interdependence of both society and the States. That problem was solved in 1787 by the intelligence of fifty-five men backed by the spirit of goodwill and compromise. The record of the convention has fortunately been preserved for us in what may appropriately be called the greatest of political treatises, namely James Madison's *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787*. These remarkable Notes tell the story of the successful international conference which accomplished matchless political results of an international nature, more significant for the men about to reorganize the world than any other political experience of the race.